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A-Bomb Test Suspension and a Summit Conference

Report No. C-19

Series No. 3

June 3, 1958



RESEARCH STAFF

UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE

AMERICAN EMBASSY, GERMANY

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

This report is the second of a **S**eries planned to follow West German reactions to issues of importance at a possible Summit Conference.\* At the time that this particular study was under consideration, the Russian announcement that they were prepared to suspend further atomic-bomb tests was viewed as the "big news" of the day. This particular inquiry, therefore, was focused upon that aspect; not only because of the offer as a Russian maneuver, but because of its possible affect upon the known susceptibilities of the West Germans when it comes to anything having to do with atomic energy.

The sample is a probability one of the West German adult population (18 years of age and over), and consists of a total of 930 cases collected during the period from April 28th through May 15, 1958. Interviewing was carried out by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg.

## S U M M A R Y

While three out of ten West Germans said that they had heard of the latest Russian proposal, a further test question revealed that only half of those claiming knowledge actually knew what it was about. Thus as a propaganda maneuver, it had little influence upon the population.

Seven out of ten would also like the U.S. to stop atomic-bomb tests, but when the idea of mutual control was introduced, a majority thought that the United States should continue its tests until this feature was achieved. These two sets of results are not viewed as contradictory, but rather as a refinement of popular desire for an even better means of ensuring against the dangers of an atomic holocaust.

Only one out of five, however, thinks that atomic-bomb tests will actually be suspended; and the same proportion calls such suspension (if it were to occur) of value without an agreement on control of production of these weapons. Claimed awareness of the Russian proposal was found to have little relationship with the level of confidence expressed in the possibilities ... whether claiming to have heard or not, roughly two out of three are found to have little confidence that the Russians will actually stop, or that such tests will cease without agreement on control.

As for the prospects of a Summit Conference itself, one-half of the population calls such a meeting more probable than improbable. Among those who do not call it probable, there are about as many calling it improbable as there are uncertain what will happen.

\* The first report was No. C-18, "German Reunification and A Summit Conference," May 8, 1958 (Official Use Only).



Section I - Knowledge

WHILE 3 OUT OF 10 CLAIM TO HAVE HEARD OF RUSSIAN PROPOSAL, ONLY HALF AS MANY ACTUALLY KNEW ...

When faced with the simple question of whether they had heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy, three out of ten (30%) in West Germany said that they had. Since, however, what was actually the new Russian move was the statement that they were prepared to cease testing of atomic bombs if the West would also promise to stop, it was imperative to ask these three-tenths of the population what the new Russian move was.

Classification of the responses to this further query reveals that just over half of those who said that they had heard of the move (17% of the total sample) were found to know what it was. One out of ten (9%) went wide of the mark by making reference to the Rapacki Plan or to some even more vague Russian disarmament maneuver. Four per cent confessed that they could not say what it was that the Russians were supposed to have proposed.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Yes	30%
No	70
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":  
"What was it about?"

Correct	17%
Incorrect	9
No opinion	4
	<u>30%</u>



## WHAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SUPPOSED TO HAVE PROPOSED ...

Examples of the actual comments made by respondents in answering the query as to what the Russians were supposed to have proposed in their most recent move are presented below.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

IF "Yes":

"What was it about?"

West Germany  
(930)

### CORRECT:

The Russians stopped their atomic-bomb tests (or offered to stop their atomic-bomb tests):

12%

- "I heard that Russia suspended all atomic tests."
- "Well, I read that the Russians offered to halt all nuclear tests for a period of three years."
- "The Russians will discontinue all atomic-bomb tests."
- "Russia offered to halt its H-bomb tests."
- "Russia is willing to renounce all nuclear tests."

The Russians will not carry out further atomic tests if the West will follow suit:

4

- "If America will agree to halt all nuclear tests, Russia will also stop its atomic explosions."
- "The Russians will discontinue their atomic tests under the condition that the West will do the same."
- "Russia said it will halt all nuclear tests, if the West consents to suspend its atomic tests as well."
- "I read that Russia agrees to halt all nuclear tests if the West will follow suit."

The Russians will halt all atomic-bomb tests, but reject inspection plans:

1

- "The Russians are willing to halt all atomic-bomb tests, but will not consent to the principle of joint inspection."
- "We stopped all atomic tests.' That's what they say, but they cannot be trusted, and they will never agree to any control system."

### INCORRECT:

Rapacki Plan: Creation of a neutral, atom-free Zone:

4

- "Russia stated its approval of the Rapacki plan."
- "Russia wants Germany to become an atom-free Zone."
- "As far as I know, their proposals deal with the creation of an atom-free Zone."
- "Russia wants the Federal Republic to stay neutral. If the Federal Republic will refuse atomic armament, Russia promises not to attack it with atomic weapons."

(Cont'd on next page)



The Russians have made proposals on general (atomic) disarmament:

2%

"I heard that Russia wants a conference to be held to discuss the atomic issue."

"Russia is seeking a control system applicable to general disarmament."

"Russia is interested in a general controlled disarmament."

The Russians are bluffing, their intentions are not sincere:

1

"They always play their own game. They are just bluffing."

"If the Russians agree to a general control system, they do it for propaganda purposes."

The Russians are willing to carry out disarmament:

1

"Russia decided to proceed with disarmament."

"Khrushchev announced Russia's approval of a general disarmament."

Other answers:

1

"In my opinion, the Russians want us to negotiate with the Pankow regime, but I'm against it."

"They advocate Germany's withdrawal from NATO."

NO OPINION:

4  
30%

Section II - What the U.S. Should Do

SEVEN OUT OF TEN ALSO WANT U.S. TO SUSPEND A-BOMB TESTS ...

The tremendous appeal of the apparently simple proposal that atomic-bomb tests be stopped can be seen in the overwhelming approval given to the idea that the U.S. should also offer to suspend its atomic-bomb tests (71%), while only one out of ten (10%) does not want the U.S. to make such an offer.

Such results, of course, must not be considered surprising in view of the known West German attitude that atomic-bomb tests endanger the health of mankind, and that atomic energy (as a whole) is more of a curse than a boon. (It is interesting to contrast these results with those from a similar question posed in the U.S. There 60 per cent were against test suspensions, while 29 per cent were in favor of them.)

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

	<u>West Germany</u>
	(930)
Yes, it should	71%
No, it should not	10
No opinion	19
	<u>100%</u>

THOSE FAVORING U.S. A-BOMB TEST SUSPENSION DO SO BELIEVING THAT IT WOULD NOT BE TO THE MILITARY DISADVANTAGE OF THE U.S. ...

That seven-tenths of the population which wished the U.S. to stop its atomic-bomb tests was also asked whether they believed that such an offer would be a military disadvantage for the United States. Four out of seven in this group (or 39% of the total sample) replied that it would not be to the U.S.'s military disadvantage, while one out of seven (12%) did see it as a military disadvantage.

It would be interesting if it were possible to pursue this situation a little further and determine whether the responses are based upon a belief that the U.S. is so much stronger militarily that it could well afford the move; whether it is based on a belief that the U.S. is weaker, and so it would not make any difference to the U.S., but would benefit "mankind"; or whether they simply have not connected the two issues. Unfortunately, with the few questions at our disposal, we can go no further.

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "Yes, it should":

"Would the offer to stop atomic-bomb tests be a military disadvantage for the United States or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Yes	12%
No	39
No opinion	<u>20</u> 71%

"RUSSIANS ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED" - LEADING REASON ADVANCED BY THOSE SAYING U.S. SHOULD NOT OFFER TO SUSPEND ITS TESTS ...

Among that small group (10% of the total population) which did not want the U.S. to offer to suspend its A-bomb tests, one out of two advanced as their reason for saying that that "the Russians are not to be trusted" (5%) - a point which apparently did not occur to the great majority which wanted the U.S. to stop its tests.

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "No, it should not":

"Could you please tell me why you are of this opinion?"

West Germany  
(930)

The Russians are not to be trusted. They will continue nuclear tests anyway:

5%

"The Russians are not to be trusted."

"I think the U.S. should not offer to stop nuclear tests because the Russians will not keep their promises."

"The Russians can keep their atomic-bomb tests secret."

"There's no way to control the Russians."

"The Russians will continue to produce atomic weapons anyhow."

The Americans lag behind. They have to catch up with the Russians first:

2

"The Americans must first catch up with the Russians."

"I am of the opinion that the U.S. will have to catch up with the Russians who are considerably ahead in the field of nuclear research."

"If we are to finally live in peace, America must become stronger."

Such an offer is useless, they will never agree:

1

"Nothing positive will ever come of it."

"They'll still never agree."

"That won't help either."

Other answers:

1

"I think they should both stop their atomic tests."

"If Russia continues its atomic tests, America must do the same."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
10%

ONLY WHEN IDEA OF MUTUAL CONTROL SYSTEM INTRODUCED, DOES MAJORITY WANT U.S. TO CONTINUE TESTS UNTIL IT IS ACHIEVED ...

While seven out of ten West Germans had indicated their desire for the U.S. to abandon its tests of atomic bombs, when the idea of a mutual control system was brought into the consideration, a majority (54%) turned around and indicated their desire for the U.S. to continue its tests until such a system of inspection was reached.

Roughly one-quarter are to be found (24%) willing to ignore or overlook the features of a mutual control system in favor of suspension of tests at any price.

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Should keep insisting on a control system	54%
Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests	24
No opinion	<u>22</u>
	100%



EVEN THOSE WHO HAD SAID U.S. SHOULD SUSPEND TESTS, WANT U.S. TO CONTINUE UNTIL INSPECTION SYSTEM WORKED OUT ...

The results just presented above, namely that a majority would like the U.S. to continue with its tests until a mutual control system is achieved, might at first glance be suspected as a flat contradiction of the earlier table which showed that seven out of ten want the U.S. also to offer to stop atomic-bomb tests. When the responses to the two questions are cross-tabulated, this suspicion might be considered as confirmed. Majorities are found in favor of the U.S. insisting on a control system before suspending its tests not only among those who had previously opposed the U.S. stopping its tests (76% among that group) but also among those who had voted in favor of such suspension (59%).

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

Yes, it should	No, it should not	No opinion
(660)	(91)	(179)

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

Should keep insisting on a control system	59%	76%	27%
Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests	30	10	9
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>64</u>
	100%	100%	100%

The two results, however, should not be viewed as contradicting each other, but rather as confirmation of the public's attitude toward atomic tests (and indeed toward the whole field of atomic energy). That is, they wish to see an end to the various factors which they view as threats to mankind. In that light, they would also like the U.S. to end its tests (which they consider as endangering the health of future generations). When the idea of a mutual control is suggested, in the wording of the question, then majorities favor that - since it is an improvement, a more fool-proof way to ensure that this danger to mankind does not in fact take place. Such a reaction indicates the manner in which the United States must present itself before the German population in order to meet popular desires in this area.

Section III - Confidence in Possibilities of Suspension

ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE CONFIDENT THAT TESTS WILL BE SUSPENDED ...

Popular confidence that the Big Powers actually will stop their atomic-bomb tests is not particularly high despite their obviously great desire that such tests be ended. Their skepticism on the prospect can be seen in popular reactions to the several questions which were posed to them asking for their expectations in this general area.

The first such question asked how confident they were that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic tests (as announced). In their replies, one person out of five (23%) said that he had a fair measure of confidence (very or fairly confident) that Russia would really stop, while three out of five (63%) indicated little faith in the Russian offer materializing.

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

	<u>West Germany</u>
	(930)
Very confident	6% )
Fairly confident	17 ) 23%
Only a little confident	34 )
Not at all confident	29 ) 63
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-40



A second question shifted the focus slightly and asked the respondent to consider the general problem of test suspensions, if there would be no agreement on a method of international control. As might be expected under such conditions, the amount of confidence registered is somewhat less than that recorded for the preceding query, but still on the same level. One out of five (19%) expressed confidence, while approximately two-thirds (66%) registered pessimism of the prospects.

"If you consider the atomic-bomb issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Very confident	4% } 19%
Fairly confident	15 }
Only a little confident	36 } 66
Not at all confident	30 }
No opinion	15 <u>100%</u>
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-47

Another way to observe the slightly greater pessimism assigned to the prospects of test suspensions when reminded that there is no agreement on an international control system, is to compare the Net Opinion scores. These scores have been calculated by subtracting the percentage being "very" or "fairly confident" from those who were "only a little" or "not at all confident".

While the slight percentage shifts in confidence are more readily seen this way (i.e. the difference in Net Opinion scores is larger), the difference between the Net Score on the first question (-40) and on the second (-47) is not large enough to be considered statistically significant.

EVEN THOSE ORIGINALLY CONFIDENT RUSSIA WOULD STOP TESTS UNCERTAIN ON GENERAL ISSUE WHEN ABSENCE OF CONTROL SYSTEM BROUGHT UP ...

The fact that the answers to the two preceding questions were largely identical should not lead one to suppose that individuals could not differentiate between the two queries and so gave the same answer to both questions.

The following cross-tabulation (of the two questions) shows that among those who originally had little confidence that Russia would actually stop her atomic-bomb tests, the overwhelming majority (84%) were pessimistic concerning the world's chances of having tests stop as long as there was no agreement on mutual control.

The optimism of those who were at first inclined to say that they had some confidence that Russia would actually cease her tests is found shaken on the second issue, for they split rather evenly with as many registering little confidence that tests would be stopped without international control as there are still persisting in their views that tests will stop (47% and 49% respectively).

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

Very/ Fairly confident	Only a little/ Not at all confident	No opinion
(206)	(592)	(132)

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

Very/Fairly confident	49%	12%	5%
Only a little/Not at all confident	47	84	14
No opinion	4	4	81
	100%	100%	100%

LESS THAN ONE OUT OF FIVE CALLS SUSPENSION VALUABLE WITHOUT CONTROL  
OVER PRODUCTION OF A-BOMBS ...

Yet another question similar in scope to the two we have been considering is the query asking for the value which they would place upon the suspension of atomic-bomb tests without control over the production of atomic bombs.

As in the other pattern of replies, roughly one out of five (here actually 16%) said that they would consider that of "great" or "very great value", while three out of five (62%) called it of "little" or "very little value". Thus the Net Opinion score on this question (-46) is completely in keeping with those for the other questions.

"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Very great value	6% } 16%
Great value	10 }
Only a little value	26 } 62
Very little value	36 }
No opinion	22 <u>100%</u>
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-46

LITTLE VALUE SEEN IN TEST SUSPENSION WITHOUT CONTROL OF PRODUCTION  
REGARDLESS OF DESIRE THAT U.S. STOP ITS TESTS ...

Further confirmation of the thesis suggested earlier, that the West German population is in favor of any proposal which seems to offer an end to the nightmare of atomic warfare, so that they will approve of unilateral test suspension at the same time they approve of having better safeguards before such suspensions (by the U.S.) are agreed to, is found in the table below.

The following cross-tabulation presents the results when responses to the question on the value assigned to test suspension without control of production are tabulated according to opinion on having the U.S. also offer to stop its tests.

Even among that great majority which had wanted the U.S. to stop its tests, two out of three (66%) see little value in test suspensions when there is no control over production. Of course, among those who had not wanted the U.S. to end its tests, it is not as surprising perhaps to find that more than eight out of ten (83%) see little value in test suspension without production controls. In attempting to understand these results, the interpretation is again offered that the populace is indicating its acceptance of even better methods of achieving what for it is a primary goal - the removal of the fear of atomic explosions (whether in war or peace).

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

	Yes, <u>it should</u> (660)	No, it <u>should not</u> (91)	No <u>opinion</u> (179)
"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"			
Very great/Great value	21%	10%	3%
Only a little/Very little value	66	83	36
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>61</u>
	100%	100%	100%



EVEN THOSE WITH CONFIDENCE IN TEST SUSPENSION WITHOUT INSPECTION SEE  
LITTLE VALUE IN SUSPENSION WITHOUT CONTROL OF PRODUCTION ...

The appeal of each additional means of securing the population against atomic explosions is again seen in the opinions of those who expressed confidence in the actual suspension of atomic tests without international inspection when the value of such suspension was raised in connection with the control of the production of atomic weapons. In the face of this additional desirable goal, a majority (56%), among that small group which had persisted in seeing something desirable in having test suspensions without inspection, then admits that there is little value to test suspensions if there is no control exercised over the production of atomic bombs.

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

	Very/ Fairly confident (176)	Only a little/ Not at all confident (614)	No opinion (140)
"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"			
Very great/Great value	35%	12%	9%
Only a little/Very little value	56	75	16
No opinion	9	13	75
	100%	100%	100%
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-21	-63	

AWARENESS OF RUSSIAN PROPOSAL HAS LITTLE TO DO WITH LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE ...  
 WHETHER AWARE OR NOT, TWO-THIRDS EXPRESS LITTLE CONFIDENCE ...

It is noteworthy that whether they claim to have heard of the Russian offer (to suspend atomic-bomb tests) or not, two out of three are found to have little or no confidence either that Russia will actually suspend her tests, or that such tests will be suspended without an agreement on international control.

A slight difference in Net Opinion is to be seen, however, on the more immediate question of the Russian offer, in that those who claimed knowledge of the Russian offer, while just as pessimistic as those who said they did not know about it, were also somewhat more inclined than the others to express confidence in the Russian offer. Thus, among those claiming knowledge one-third (33%) expressed confidence; as opposed to be but half that amount (18%) among those who had not heard about it. As a result, the Net Opinion score for those with knowledge is -29, while for those without knowledge it is -46, despite the fact that almost identical percentages are found in both groups expressing little confidence (62% and 64%).

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

Yes	No
(274)	(656)

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

Very/Fairly confident	33%	18%
Only a little/Not at all confident	62	64
No opinion	5	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-29	-46

On the further question of test suspension without international control, the entire pattern of replies of those with claimed knowledge and those without is similar. The Net Opinion scores of the two groups are revealed to be -42 and -50.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

Yes	No
(274)	(656)

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

Very/Fairly confident	27%	15%
Only a little/Not at all confident	69	65
No opinion	4	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>NET OPINION</u>	-42	-50



Section IV - Expectations Concerning A Summit Conference

ONE OUT OF TWO CONSIDERS A SUMMIT CONFERENCE PROBABLE ...

While one-half (49%) of the West German population (as of May 1958) considered a Summit Conference still more probable than improbable, the other half of the population is not so sure. That 51 per cent which did not call a conference probable split between those who felt a conference was more unlikely (28%) and those who did not know what the future might hold (23% with no opinion on the question).

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (930)
Very probable	10% )
Probable	39 ) 49%
Not so probable	20 )
Very improbable	8 ) 28 )
No opinion	23 ) ) 51
	<u>23</u> )
	100%

It will be interesting to repeat this question in the coming months in the light of developments, as a measure of expectation regarding the holding of a Summit Conference since we are well aware of popular desire for such a meeting.



A P P E N D I X

A P P E N D I X

(Groupbreaks)

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals  
on disarmament or atomic energy?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	30%	70%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	44	56	423
Women	18	82	507
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	27	73	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	39	61	116
Diploma/university	50	50	30
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	18	82	33
150 to 249 DM	17	83	77
250 to 399 DM	25	75	155
400 to 499 DM	29	71	180
500 DM and more	36	64	346
No answer	29	71	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	38	62	121
Lower middle	31	69	566
Poor	22	78	243
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 24 years	29	71	112
25 to 34 years	28	72	158
35 to 44 years	30	70	194
45 to 54 years	26	74	198
55 years and over	32	68	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	34	66	235
CDU/CSU	25	75	307
FDP	46	54	54
Other parties	38	62	29
No party	26	74	110
No opinion	28	72	195
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	40	60	10
Businessmen	37	63	57
White-collar workers	41	59	132
Skilled laborers	39	61	124
Semi-skilled laborers	33	67	134
Farmers; farmhands	36	64	47
Housewives	16	84	332
Pensioners; retired	32	68	78
Students; apprentices	37	63	16
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	29	71	720
Expellees; refugees	31	69	210
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	28	72	402
Protestants	29	71	487
Others	36	64	11
No religion	37	63	30

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	33%	67%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	29	71	276
20,000 to 99,999	29	71	144
100,000 and over	27	73	264
<u>Land:</u>			
Schleswig/Holstein,			
Hamburg, Bremen	25	75	91
Lower Saxony	31	69	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	73	267
Hesse	41	59	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	30	70	73
Baden Wuerttemberg	40	60	134
Bavaria	21	79	168

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer  
to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not  
make this offer?"

	<u>Yes, it should</u>	<u>No, it should not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	71%	10%	19%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	74	13	13	423
Women	69	7	24	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	71	9	20	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	72	12	16	116
Diploma/university	77	10	13	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	70	6	24	33
150 to 249 DM	59	6	35	77
250 to 399 DM	68	8	24	155
400 to 499 DM	72	12	16	180
500 DM and more	79	9	12	346
No answer	61	14	25	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	69	10	21	121
Lower middle	74	10	16	566
Poor	66	9	25	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	75	13	12	112
25 to 34 years	74	8	18	158
35 to 44 years	72	11	17	194
45 to 54 years	74	7	19	198
55 years and over	64	11	25	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	83	6	11	235
CDU/CSU	67	14	19	307
FDP	9	2	7	54
Other parties	62	31	7	29
No party	70	9	21	110
No opinion	60	7	33	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	70	10	20	10
Businessmen	75	11	14	57
White-collar workers	76	9	15	132
Skilled laborers	80	10	10	124
Semi-skilled laborers	69	10	21	134
Farmers; farmhands	55	24	21	47
Housewives	67	8	25	332
Pensioners; retired	71	10	19	78
Students; apprentices	81	6	13	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	71	10	19	720
Expellees; refugees	69	11	20	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	67	10	23	402
Protestants	75	9	16	487
Others	45	18	37	11
No religion	80	10	10	30

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	<u>Yes, it should</u>	<u>No, it should not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	69%	11%	20%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	71	7	22	276
20,000 to 99,999	73	9	18	144
100,000 and over	72	11	17	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig.Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	77	11	12	91
Lower Saxony	65	12	23	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	70	8	22	267
Hesse	81	11	8	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	74	10	16	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	76	12	12	134
Bavaria	64	8	28	168



"Are you of the opinion that America should offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "Yes, it should":

"Would the offer to stop atomic-bomb tests be a military disadvantage for the United States or not?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Not asked</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	12%	39%	20%	29%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15	46	13	26	423
Women	10	34	25	31	507
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10	40	21	29	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	19	37	16	28	116
Diploma/university	30	37	10	23	30
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	15	34	21	30	33
150 to 249 DM	7	26	26	41	77
250 to 399 DM	9	41	18	32	155
400 to 499 DM	14	41	17	28	180
500 DM and more	15	44	20	21	346
No answer	9	32	20	39	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	16	38	15	31	121
Lower middle	12	42	20	26	566
Poor	11	33	22	34	243
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	9	44	22	25	112
25 to 34 years	11	44	19	26	158
35 to 44 years	11	41	20	28	194
45 to 54 years	17	38	19	26	198
55 years and over	12	33	19	36	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	13	52	18	17	235
CDU/CSU	12	39	16	33	307
FDP	22	39	30	9	54
Other parties	17	35	10	38	29
No party	11	44	15	30	110
No opinion	9	23	28	40	195
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	10	30	30	30	10
Businessmen	10	46	19	25	57
White-collar workers	14	48	14	24	132
Skilled laborers	14	56	10	20	124
Semi-skilled laborers	16	35	18	31	134
Farmers; farmhands	6	34	15	45	47
Housewives	11	32	24	33	332
Pensioners; retired	6	39	26	29	78
Students; apprentices	12	38	31	19	16
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	40	20	29	720
Expellees; refugees	14	36	19	31	210
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	11	39	17	33	402
Protestants	13	40	22	25	487
Others	9	27	9	55	11
No religion	7	53	20	20	30

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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Not asked</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	10%	38%	21%	31%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	14	39	18	29	276
20,000 to 99,999	14	39	20	27	144
100,000 and over	12	41	19	28	264
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	13	45	19	23	91
Lower Saxony	12	38	15	35	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	14	37	19	30	267
Hesse	16	30	35	19	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	10	44	20	26	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	10	44	22	24	134
Bavaria	10	38	16	36	168

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

	Should keep insisting on a con- trol system	Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	54%	24%	22%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	62	24	14	423
Women	49	23	28	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	51	25	24	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	70	20	10	116
Diploma/university	80	10	10	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	46	30	24	33
150 to 249 DM	46	18	36	77
250 to 399 DM	55	20	25	155
400 to 499 DM	50	31	19	180
500 DM and more	61	24	15	346
No answer	51	20	29	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	57	23	20	121
Lower middle	57	24	19	566
Poor	49	23	28	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	66	19	15	112
25 to 34 years	57	25	18	158
35 to 44 years	55	21	24	194
45 to 54 years	51	28	21	198
55 years and over	51	24	25	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	51	35	14	235
CDU/CSU	65	16	19	307
FDP	67	26	7	54
Other parties	72	14	14	29
No party	53	23	24	110
No opinion	37	24	39	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	70	20	10	10
Businessmen	63	21	16	57
White-collar workers	64	23	13	132
Skilled laborers	58	31	11	124
Semi-skilled laborers	54	24	22	134
Farmers; farmhands	60	19	21	47
Housewives	49	20	31	332
Pensioners; retired	42	35	23	78
Students; apprentices	75	19	6	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	54	24	22	720
Expellees; refugees	55	24	21	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	55	21	24	402
Protestants	55	25	20	487
Others	55	18	27	11
No religion	47	43	10	30

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	Should keep insisting on a con- trol system	Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	54%	22%	24%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	60	17	23	276
20,000 to 99,999	53	28	19	144
100,000 and over	50	30	20	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	49	37	14	91
Lower Saxony	54	17	29	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	57	22	21	267
Hesse	62	26	12	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	58	19	23	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	59	24	17	134
Bavaria	46	25	29	168

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

	Very/ Fairly confident	Only a little/ Not at all confident	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	23%	63%	14%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	25	65	10	423
Women	20	62	18	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	62	16	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	24	68	8	116
Diploma/university	17	80	3	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	58	21	33
150 to 249 DM	13	61	26	77
250 to 399 DM	20	65	15	155
400 to 499 DM	25	63	12	180
500 DM and more	24	67	9	346
No answer	21	60	19	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	26	59	15	121
Lower middle	22	66	12	566
Poor	20	60	20	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	22	65	13	112
25 to 34 years	26	63	11	158
35 to 44 years	20	65	15	194
45 to 54 years	22	63	15	198
55 years and over	21	64	15	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33	50	7	235
CDU/CSU	15	75	10	307
FDP	43	57	-	54
Other parties	10	76	14	29
No party	16	73	11	110
No opinion	19	47	34	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	30	70	-	10
Businessmen	28	65	7	57
White-collar workers	23	64	13	132
Skilled laborers	29	63	8	124
Semi-skilled laborers	24	57	19	134
Farmers; farmhands	15	74	11	47
Housewives	18	65	17	332
Pensioners; retired	24	60	16	78
Students; apprentices	19	75	6	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	23	63	14	720
Expellees; refugees	19	68	13	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	20	66	14	402
Protestants	23	63	14	487
Others	27	46	27	11
No religion	37	56	7	30

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	<u>Very/ Fairly confident</u>	<u>Only a little/ Not at all confident</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	22%	64%	14%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	21	63	16	276
20,000 to 99,999	29	58	13	144
100,000 and over	19	68	13	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	26	63	11	91
Lower Saxony	20	65	15	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	21	65	14	267
Hesse	23	66	11	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	26	59	15	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	28	60	12	134
Bavaria	17	65	18	168



"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

	Very/ Fairly confident	Only a little/ Not at all confident	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	19%	66%	15%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	21	69	10	423
Women	17	63	20	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	18	66	16	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	29	63	8	116
Diploma/university	13	80	7	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	18	55	27	33
150 to 249 DM	12	58	30	77
250 to 399 DM	14	69	17	155
400 to 499 DM	20	69	11	180
500 DM and more	22	68	10	346
No answer	21	61	18	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	24	61	15	121
Lower middle	20	68	12	566
Poor	15	63	22	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	24	62	14	112
25 to 34 years	20	68	12	158
35 to 44 years	19	64	17	194
45 to 54 years	18	67	15	198
55 years and over	17	67	16	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	24	68	8	235
CDU/CSU	17	71	12	307
FDP	20	80	-	54
Other parties	17	73	10	29
No party	13	75	12	110
No opinion	18	46	36	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	30	70	-	10
Businessmen	19	74	7	57
White-collar workers	25	64	11	132
Skilled laborers	17	74	9	124
Semi-skilled laborers	26	58	16	134
Farmers; farmhands	17	68	15	47
Housewives	16	65	19	332
Pensioners; retired	16	65	19	78
Students; apprentices	6	82	12	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	19	66	15	720
Expellees; refugees	17	67	16	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	18	67	15	402
Protestants	19	66	15	487
Others	27	27	46	11
No religion	30	60	10	30

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	Very/ Fairly confident	Only a little/ Not at all confident	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	17%	67%	16%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	17	65	18	276
20,000 to 99,999	24	62	14	144
100,000 and over	20	69	11	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	18	73	9	91
Lower Saxony	10	72	18	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	19	65	16	267
Hesse	26	66	8	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	25	56	19	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	25	62	13	134
Bavaria	15	67	18	168

"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"

	Very great/ Great value	Only a little/ Very little value	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	16%	62%	22%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	18	70	12	423
Women	15	55	30	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	17	59	24	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	11	76	13	116
Diploma/university	13	77	10	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	24	30	46	33
150 to 249 DM	14	44	42	77
250 to 399 DM	12	64	24	155
400 to 499 DM	15	67	18	180
500 DM and more	18	67	15	346
No answer	17	59	24	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	14	65	21	121
Lower middle	16	67	17	566
Poor	18	49	33	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	18	68	14	112
25 to 34 years	17	65	18	158
35 to 44 years	21	57	22	194
45 to 54 years	13	65	22	198
55 years and over	14	58	28	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	23	63	14	235
CDU/CSU	15	69	18	307
FDP	24	69	7	54
Other parties	-	83	17	29
No party	16	58	26	110
No opinion	13	47	40	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	10	70	20	10
Businessmen	12	67	21	57
White-collar workers	15	70	15	132
Skilled laborers	21	69	10	124
Semi-skilled laborers	19	63	18	134
Farmers; farmhands	19	68	13	47
Housewives	15	53	32	332
Pensioners; retired	14	60	26	78
Students; apprentices	13	81	6	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17	61	22	720
Expellees; refugees	13	66	21	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	16	62	22	402
Protestants	16	63	21	487
Others	27	36	37	11
No religion	7	70	23	30

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	<u>Very great/ Great value</u>	<u>Only a little/ Very little value</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	17%	62%	21%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	13	64	23	276
20,000 to 99,999	22	56	22	144
100,000 and over	15	63	22	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	11	77	12	91
Lower Saxony	9	63	28	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	12	62	26	267
Hesse	19	70	11	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	29	52	19	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	25	57	18	134
Bavaria	17	58	25	168

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

	Very probable/ Probable	Not so probable/ Very im- probable	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	49%	28%	23%...100%	930
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	56	29	15	423
Women	44	26	30	507
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	28	24	784
Secondary school w/o diploma	56	28	16	116
Diploma/university	60	30	10	30
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	27	33	40	33
150 to 249 DM	36	26	38	77
250 to 399 DM	43	29	28	155
400 to 499 DM	52	31	17	180
500 DM and more	58	25	17	346
No answer	42	29	29	139
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	57	22	21	121
Lower middle	53	28	19	566
Poor	37	30	33	243
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	52	27	21	112
25 to 34 years	53	31	16	158
35 to 44 years	55	24	21	194
45 to 54 years	49	28	23	198
55 years and over	42	29	29	268
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	54	31	15	235
CDU/CSU	53	25	22	307
FDP	61	35	4	54
Other parties	45	31	24	29
No party	55	25	20	110
No opinion	31	27	42	195
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	40	40	20	10
Businessmen	54	32	14	57
White-collar workers	62	24	14	132
Skilled laborers	54	32	14	124
Semi-skilled laborers	52	28	20	134
Farmers; farmhands	45	30	25	47
Housewives	43	26	31	332
Pensioners; retired	38	31	31	78
Students; apprentices	63	25	12	16
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	49	28	23	720
Expellees; refugees	51	26	23	210
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	45	29	26	402
Protestants	51	28	21	487
Others	46	18	36	11
No religion	64	23	13	30

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	<u>Very probable/ Probable</u>	<u>Not so probable/ Very im- probable</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	44%	34%	22%...100%	246
2,000 to 19,999	48	25	27	276
20,000 to 99,999	60	22	18	144
100,000 and over	50	27	23	264
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig, Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	56	27	17	91
Lower Saxony	45	25	30	124
North Rhine/Westphalia	48	26	26	267
Hesse	52	32	16	73
Rhineland/Palatinate	46	33	21	73
Baden/Wuerttemberg	59	25	16	134
Bavaria	42	31	27	168







